

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年 報

平成29年度
(第21号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2017

Volume XXI

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2018・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2018

Once again on the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka**

Martin STRAUBE

In 1985 Michael Hahn published a short article on the so called *Śākyasiṃhajātaka*, a short account of the life of the Buddha in the *campū* style of mixed verse and prose. Till that time the Sanskrit text was known only from two Nepalese compilations of Buddhist narratives that had borrowed the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* together with a further ten legends from the *Jātakamālā* of Haribhaṭṭa (HJM). In his article Hahn attempted to substantiate his doubts expressed earlier on the authenticity of the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* as the 35th and concluding chapter of the HJM. While preparing a new and complete edition of the HJM with the help of Hahn's Nachlaß I reconsidered Hahn's arguments against the authenticity of the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* in the light of new sources that have become available. In what follows, I present my conclusions that differ from Hahn's in the main.

The *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* (henceforth Śsj.) is transmitted in two recensions. Under the assumed title *Sarvārthasiddhajātaka* (henceforth Sasj.) it appears as the concluding, i.e. 35th chapter of the HJM in both sources of the HJM proper that are available at present, viz. the Sanskrit manuscript B and the Tibetan translation of the HJM (HJMtib). B is an obviously well preserved, though incomplete palm-leaf manuscript of Tibetan provenance which presently is accessible merely in black and white photostat copies.¹ Unfortunately, the reverse sides of the last two folios of the manuscript are missing in these copies. Thus, we do not have access to the concluding part of the text in B from the prose section after stanza 29 onwards.² The second major source for the Sanskrit text of the Śsj. are two Nepalese compilations, viz. the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā* (BJAM) and the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* (JMAS).³ They transmit the text in a partly reworked and greatly enlarged version which according to the colophons is called *Śākyasiṃhatathāgatajātaka* or *Śākyasiṃhajātaka*.⁴ Moreover, in these two compilations the Śsj. does not follow directly upon the ten legends of the HJM (forming a closed section in both compilations) but is separated from them by the *Maitrakanyakajātaka* that can be attributed to Gopadatta.⁵ Finally, we have fragments of a bilingual Uighur-Sanskrit manuscript in which passages from the Sasj. are preserved on two

* I am indebted to Jürgen Hanneder and Roland Steiner for a couple of important suggestions, and to Peter A. Khoroché for correcting the English.

1. See Hahn 2005, p. 4. A detailed description of the manuscript will be found in Straube forthcoming.

2. Hahn 2011, p. 206, line 9. Straube forthcoming 35.29,6.

3. See Hahn 1992, p. 5, and 2011, p. 45 ff.

4. MS A of the BJAM, fol. 44 r5: *iti śākyasiṃhasta(sic)thāgatajātakaḥ (sic) samāptaḥ*, MS C of the JMAS, fol. 349 v1: *iti śākyasiṃhajātakaṃ samāptam*, MS C₂ of the JMAS, fol. 156 v10: *iti śrījātakamālā<yā>> śākyasiṃhajātakaṃ samāptam* (Sigla according to Hahn 2011). According to Hahn 1985a (p. 9, n. 4), the MS C₃ of the JMAS (kept in the Tokyo University Library) also gives the title "*Śākyasiṃhajātaka*."

5. See the table on p. 52 in Hahn 2011.

fragmentary consecutive folios, and passages from HJM 32 on a third nearly complete folio.⁶ Thus, it can reasonably be assumed that the Sasj. is transmitted as part of the HJM in that manuscript too.

We do not have direct evidence for the original title of the 35th chapter of the HJM. The closing section of B not being accessible, we do not know of a colophon for the 35th chapter. In HJMtib the Sasj. is not concluded by a colophon; immediately after its 58th and last stanza follows a kind of epilogue for the HJM as a whole that consists of four stanzas and a short colophon in prose.⁷ While nothing speaks against Haribhaṭṭa as the author of the first two stanzas,⁸ the third stanza that matters here is probably the product of a later editor. In a manner of an *uddāna*⁹ it lists the last five legends of the HJM:¹⁰

rab 'gro gñā'ral can brgya byin ||
khra can don kun grub ldan pa ||
lña yis lhag pa'i sum cu 'dir ||
thub pa chen po'i skyes rabs¹¹ rnams ||

Rab 'gro, Gñā'ral can, Brgya byin, Khra can [and] *Don kun grub ldan pa*—[these] five and thirty more jātakas of the Mahāmuni [are contained] in this [Jātakamālā].

Tibetan *Don kun grub ldan pa* given here for the last chapter corresponds to the Sanskrit title *Sarvārthasiddha* that is listed in a table of contents preserved on the last folio of manuscript B.¹² Since the stanza further states that all 35 stories are jātakas (*skyes rabs*), we may reconstruct the title of the 35th legend in the branch of transmission represented by HJMtib and B¹³ as “*Sarvārthasiddhajātaka*.”

Turning to the question of the authenticity of the 35th legend, it may be useful first to sketch the main points in Hahn's article from 1985.¹⁴ On the basis of the Sanskrit text found in the Nepalese compilations BJAM and JMAS (B was not yet available) and the Tibetan translation Hahn showed that the Śsj. consists of two clearly distinguishable parts with an intermediate section. The Tibetan translation is made up of 58 stanzas imbedded in prose, while the Sanskrit is considerably longer and counts 120 stanzas plus prose. Up to the 37th stanza both versions are identical except for the usual minor variants. The text from the 38th to 53rd stanza differs substantially with the 52nd stanza already being completely different.

⁶ See Maue 1996, Kat.-Nr. 21, and 2015, Kat.-Nr. 109.

⁷ Edited with an English translation by Thomas 1904, p. 738 f. and 742, with a German translation by Hahn 1985b, p. 249 f.; new edition in Straube forthcoming.

⁸ See Hahn 1985b, p. 250 f., seemingly dissenting in 2011, p. 7.

⁹ *Uddānas* for each decade of the HJM are preserved in HJMtib (the respective portions in B not being available); see Straube forthcoming for an edition and analysis. While these are plain customary *uddānas*, i.e. being explicitly introduced as such with *sdom la ||* (Skt. **uddānaṃ ||*) and containing nothing more than catchwords, the stanza at hand has a somewhat different style. Nevertheless, at least its first half acts as an *uddāna* for the concluding part of the HJM.

¹⁰ Text according to the Tanjur editions of Derge (D) and Peking (Q); D fol. 197 r2, Q fol. 233 v5.

¹¹ *Q skyes pa'i rabs*

¹² See Straube forthcoming.

¹³ The table of contents in B quotes the titles of the 35 legends either with or without the final *-jātaka*, e.g. *prabhāśajātaka*, but *badaradvīpa*. Thus, it indirectly supports the designation as “jātaka” by abbreviating the title of the last legend in the same way as a couple of other titles.

¹⁴ I will pass over the last paragraph that is concerned with the Śsj. as source for Amṛtānanda's 19th century version of the *Buddhacarita*.

Finally, from the 54th stanza onwards both versions have nothing in common anymore. The shift of text is accompanied by a distinct change of language, metre, and style, and Hahn convincingly could show that the closing section is nothing more than a paraphrase of chapter 23 to 26 of the *Lalitavistara* with a considerable number of more or less mechanical borrowings. This paraphrase continues the biography of the Buddha beyond the account in the Tibetan translation that concludes with his enlightenment.

These findings, Hahn continues, can be explained by assuming that an older text (as reflected in the HJMtib) has been adapted by reworking parts of the second half and replacing the closing section with continuing paraphrases taken from another text, the *Lalitavistara*. (Hahn 1985a, § 3) Hahn considers Gopadatta to be the author of the first part of the Śsj., although with very weak arguments, as he admits (§ 4). He then goes on to give a second, alternative explanation. According to him, the first half of the Śsj. shows significant similarities in different degrees with Aśvaghōṣa's *Buddhacarita* (Bc). Moreover, he says, the agreement between the Śsj. and the Bc comes to an end at exactly the place where the text as reflected in HJMtib shifts into the second part that is based on the *Lalitavistara*.¹⁵ This leads Hahn to consider it possible that one and the same person compiled the Śsj. by using an incomplete copy of the Bc,¹⁶ so that he was forced to look for another source for the remaining parts of his text. (Hahn 1985a, § 5)

However, this scenario seems to be implausible for a couple of reasons. If one assumes that one person—Hahn thinks of a Nepalese—composed the Śsj. in the shape transmitted in the BJAM and JMAS, then two questions arise: (1) When and how did the version underlying the Tibetan translation come into being? (2) How can one explain the sudden change of language, metre, and style?

Ad (1) Hahn only says this much: that the manuscript of the Bc used by the compiler as a source for his text must have been copied before 1190 when the Tibetan translator of the HJM died. (Hahn 1985a, p. 7) But, who prepared the recension of the Śsj. that came to be incorporated into the HJM under the title “*Sarvārthasiddhajātaka*”? As it presents itself to the reader, the Sasj. is not a mere fragment of the Śsj. but a different version with a partly deviating text and a reasonable ending.¹⁷

Ad (2): Hahn says that the “literal borrowings from the *Lalitavistara* account for most of the Hybrid Sanskrit words and forms occurring in the latter half of the Śsj.” (Hahn 1985a, p. 6) This is certainly true. However, this does not explain the change in style and metre. The first part of the Śsj. is, as Hahn admits,¹⁸ comparable in style and poetic quality to Hari-bhaṭṭa's *jātakas*, notably in the prose sections. Now, why should a person who is able to compose a Sanskrit text like this by utilising a text that is metrical throughout as source, viz. the Bc, not be able to do the same by utilising a mixed text, namely the *Lalitavistara*?

This leads to the question whether the first part of the Śsj. really is so strikingly similar to the Bc as Hahn seems to assume. The closest and most obvious correspondence is found

¹⁵. According to Hahn's table 2 (p. 5) the seam is between the 61st and 62nd stanza.

¹⁶. Hahn, moreover, thinks it possible that this incomplete copy of the Bc is none other than the single old Nepalese manuscript of the text known today and used by Johnston for his edition.

¹⁷. Below, I give the closing section of Sasj. juxtaposed to the Sanskrit text as transmitted in the BJAM.

¹⁸. Hahn 1985a, p. 4. The form *imaiḥ* (instead of *ebhiḥ*) quoted by Hahn as the only exception to the “fairly correct Sanskrit” of the first half is also found in HJM 24.10, and 25.124 (neither passage being known to Hahn in 1985). Obviously, Haribhaṭṭa considered *imaiḥ* as a regular variant to *ebhiḥ*.

between Śsj. 29+ to 33 and Bc 12.1–83. Here, the Bodhisattva visits the sage Arāḍa in his hermitage and receives instructions on the way to liberation from him. Especially in the passages devoted to the Sāṃkhya and Yoga doctrine the resemblance between the two texts is very close indeed, even if the Śsj. is mainly in prose. However, the remainder of the first part of the Śsj. is far less reminiscent of the Bc than Hahn suggests. Correspondences as those given by him on p. 5 f. can hardly be regarded as borrowings in my eyes:

*saṃsthāpito balabhidā jagadekanātho
dhīraḥ krameṇa bhuvi sapta padāni gatvā |
atyadbhutāṃ giram imāṃ nijagāda śāntāṃ
janmedam antyam iti me tamasāṃ abhāvāt ||* (Śsj. 6)

Raised on his legs by the destroyer of Bala (i.e. Śakra) the stable unique protector of living beings took one by one seven steps, and calmly spoke these marvellous words: “This is my last birth since [for me] there is no delusion [anymore].”

tathaiva dhīrāṇi padāni sapta ... jagāma (Bc 1.14cd)
... *antya bhavotpattir iyaṃ mameti* (Bc 1.15b)

He ... walked seven steps with such firmness ...
... this is my last birth in the world of phenomena.¹⁹

The seven firm steps and the prophecy made by the Bodhisattva immediately after his last birth are an indispensable hagiographic element that one certainly would expect to read in a biography of the Buddha. And when describing it in Sanskrit, it is fairly difficult to avoid an expression like “*sapta padāni*.” The same is true of the other passages juxtaposed in table 2 (p. 5), except the passage Śsj. 29+ to 33. Just consider the following, quoted by Hahn as a stanza to stanza correspondence:

*vānty ete malayānilāḥ surabhayaḥ puṣpadrumākampinaś
cūtasya bhramaraḥ pradakṣiṇayati prodbhedinīm mañjarīm |
cāpāropanadīrghasūtra *kim²⁰ idaṃ svasthaṃ tvayā sthīyate
śaṅke codayatīti puṣpadhanuṣaṃ tārādhvaniḥ kokilāḥ ||* (Śsj. 19)

“The fragrant breezes from the Malaya mountains blow, shaking the flowering trees. A bee reverently circles around the opening cluster of a mango blossom. You who are tardy in drawing the bow,²¹ how now? I’m afraid you [peacefully] rest in yourself.” Thus, the shrill sounding cuckoo impels the god with the flower bow.

*paśya bhartaś citaṃ cūtaṃ kusumair madhugandhibhiḥ |
hemapañjararuddho vā kokilo yatra kūjati ||* (Bc 4.44)

“See, my lord, this mango loaded with honey-scented flowers, in which the koil calls, looking as if imprisoned in a golden cage.”²²

¹⁹. Translation: Johnston.

²⁰. Ex HJMtib *gzu bduṅs pa la bya ba riñ bar* (read *ba?*) *bde ba ci phyir 'di ni khyod kyi<s> gnas pa ste ||*; Hss. *kam*; Hahn **kam*

²¹. A second meaning may be intended for *cāpāropanadīrghasūtra*: “You who have a long string for stringing the bow.”

²². Spoken by a woman in the pleasure garden. The translation is Johnston’s.

By contrast, the Śsj. mentions small details that are not to be found in the Bc,²³ uses similes that are different from those in the same places in the Bc,²⁴ relates a whole episode, viz. the seduction of the Bodhisattva by Māra's daughters, that is not more than faintly alluded to in the Bc,²⁵ and differs considerably in the final description of the enlightenment.²⁶

All in all, it appears very unlikely that the Śsj. was composed, or rather, compiled, by one and the same person in Nepal. Moreover, it seems to me far from certain that the first part of the Śsj. should be nothing more than an adaptation of the Bc. Thus, we are left with the first of the two alternatives mentioned above, namely that an older version of our text, the *Sarvārthasiddhajātaka* as reflected in HJMtib, was later reworked and enlarged with the help of the *Lalitavistara*. We may safely assume that this happened in Nepal since there are many examples of such composite texts in later Nepalese Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

As a product of that literature the Śsj. can be left aside, since what concerns us here is the question of the authorship of the Sasj. As explained above, all the textual sources of the HJM proper transmit the Sasj. as its 35th chapter. Thus, in order to consider it as a later addition to Haribhaṭṭa's work one should bring forward strong arguments. As far as I can see, there is only one such argument, namely the above mentioned close resemblance of the episode of the Bodhisattva's visit to sage Arāḍa's hermitage with the relevant passage in the Bc. Indeed, a borrowing of this kind would not speak in favour of an author of the rank of Haribhaṭṭa. However, one has to consider the possibility of a common source for both texts that is unknown today. And, what is more, there is usually not much scope for verbal variation in a dry explanation of philosophical theorems. Apart from this passage I can see little in Sasj. that might indicate that Haribhaṭṭa was not its author. The formal setting of the story, the use of metres in terms of variation and quantity,²⁷ language, and style are much the same as in the other legends of the HJM. It may appear a bit strange that an important subject like the biography of the Buddha has been treated in a sometimes rather cursory manner.²⁸ But this is true of other stories too.²⁹ More important appears the question whether a biographical

23. E.g., the Bodhisattva's name "Siddhārtha" (Śsj. 11+) is not mentioned in the Bc, and the Śuddhāvāsa deities, not the Akaniṣṭha as in Bc 5.47, put the women in the palace to sleep (Śsj. 25+).

24. Compare, e.g. the different descriptions of the women observing the Bodhisattva's excursion in the chariot (Śsj. 12–13, Bc 3.13–23), as well as of those seducing him in the pleasure garden (Śsj. 18+–23, Bc 4.29–52). Some resemblances can be found in the description of the sleeping women in the palace (Śsj. 25+, Bc 5.47–62).

25. The rather detailed description of Māra's seductive daughters in Sasj. 37–42 (see below) has its counterpart merely in the mention of Māra's fruitless attempt to hit the Bodhisattva with his arrow (Bc 13.14–17).

26. Sasj. 49–55+ (see below), Bc 14.1–86.

27. See Hahn 1985a, p. 3, table 1. Since the table is based on the whole Śsj. the following numbers must be corrected in order to get the statistics for the Sasj.: Anuṣṭubh: 29 (inclusive stanzas 52, 54–56), Upajāti: 0, Vaṃśastha: 4, Vaṃśamālā: 0. The Sanskrit original of the final stanza 58 most probably is in the Vasanta-tilaka metre, that of stanza 57 may be in the Pramāṇikā metre. In sharp contrast, the metrical incorrect Anuṣṭubh pādas 43c, 43d, 44d, and 46d that are typical for late Nepalese Sanskrit texts are to the account of the editor who reworked the original stanzas.

28. E.g., contrary to the common tradition, the Sasj. combines the usual three (sometimes four) excursions during which the Bodhisattva beholds an old, a sick and a dead man (sometimes also a monk) into one. Questioned by the Bodhisattva about an old man on the way, the charioteer explains the matter, and continues, once the Bodhisattva has expressed his disgust: *kumāra na kevalaṃ jarā vyādhir api dhātu-kṣobhasaṃbhūto dehināṃ mahān anarthaḥ | tato 'paro mṛtyur nāma sarvakriyāpaharaṇapaṭur anarthataro yaḥ paricintyamāno 'pi śarīriṇāṃ mahad duḥkham utpādayati*, "Prince, not only age but also sickness caused by disturbance of the humours is a great calamity for living beings. Beyond that, death that puts an end to all activities is an even greater calamity that causes beings profound grief just by thinking of it."

29. Compare the "misrepresented" perfection of meditation (*dhyāna*) in the HJM, observed by Hahn 2005, p. 8 f.

account of the last life of the Buddha-to-be is a fitting subject at all for a *Jātakamālā*, a “Garland of narratives of former lives of the Buddha.” Even if it seems odd to treat the last life of the Buddha in the same way as his former lives one has to bear in mind that the account of the Sasj. ends at exactly the point at which the Bodhisattva finally becomes a Buddha. It seems to me not impossible that the moment of final enlightenment may have been seen as another birth, in other words, that the life of the Buddha is deemed in fact to begin at this very moment. Looked at in that way an account of the last life of the Bodhisattva up to the moment of full enlightenment would not be fundamentally different from an account of one of his former lives. Nevertheless, a certain special status of the story can hardly be denied, and one could speculate that this is reflected in its being the 35th and last legend of the HJM. As we know from his prologue Haribhaṭṭa held his predecessor Āryaśūra in high esteem.³⁰ Thus, it is certainly not a coincidence that his own *Jātakamālā* is made up of just as many, viz. 34, accounts of former lives of the Buddha as is his revered model. An appended 35th story with the somewhat special subject of the last life of the Bodhisattva may be seen as an attempt to add an account deemed as important without thereby outdoing the model.

Speculations aside, even if the inclusion of the Sasj. in the HJM were the deed of some later redactor, it still would not be self-evident that Haribhaṭṭa was not its the author. No other works under his name are known to be extant, but it is easily conceivable that an author of his rank composed other works too. It is not impossible, then, that the Sasj. was such a work that found its way into his *Jātakamālā* for exactly the reason that it was deemed a work written by him.

To sum up: To me it seems highly improbable that the *Śākyasiṃhajātaka* as a whole is the work of a Nepalese compiler. It is rather an older work of non-Nepalese origin, probably called “*Sarvārthasiddhajātaka*,” that later on, on the occasion of its adaptation to a compilation in Nepal, was reworked and enlarged. This older Sasj. appears in all textual sources of the HJM that are presently known as its 35th chapter. Formal and stylistic characteristics of the Sasj. do not point to an author other than Haribhaṭṭa. Only one passage shows a resemblance to the Bc that is close enough to be considered as a borrowing but might be explained in other ways. Thus, in the absence of any other strong evidence the Sasj. should be taken as a work of Haribhaṭṭa and part of his *Jātakamālā*.

To facilitate an appraisal of the Sasj. its textually most problematic passage, viz. the closing section, is presented here in the form of its Tibetan translation³¹ juxtaposed to the remains of the original Sanskrit.³² A translation that combines renderings of the original Sanskrit passages and—for the reworked passages—the Tibetan, attempts to give an idea of the contents of Haribhaṭṭa’s original narration. Reworked Sanskrit passages are put in italics; to facilitate comparison, the same is done for the corresponding Tibetan passages that reflect

^{30.} *ācāryaśūraracitāni na jātakāni kartā kṣamaḥ samatayāpy anugantum anyah*, “Another writer is not even capable of imitating the *jātaka* stories composed by the teacher Śūra on the same [level].” (HJM, Prologue 2)

^{31.} Based on the Tanjur editions of Derge (D: *Skyes rabs*, vol. U, fols 195 v6–196 v7) and Peking (Q: *Skyes rabs*, vol. Khe, fols 232 r4–233 v3).

^{32.} Based on my forthcoming edition; A = manuscript of the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā*; see Hahn 2011, p. 46. Minor errors of the manuscripts have been silently corrected here.

the original Sanskrit, and the relevant passages in the translation. As explained above, the reworking of the original Sanskrit starts in stanza 38. With a view to the content the text presented here sets in with stanza 36 where the episode of the seduction of the Bodhisattva by Māra's daughters begins. The Sanskrit text from stanza 54 onwards need not be given here since it has nothing to do anymore with the Tibetan translation.³³ The Tibetan translation of the HJM is fraught with problems owing mainly to its extremely clumsy and literal style that quite often violates elementary rules of Tibetan syntax.³⁴ While that extreme literality is a great help in checking and correcting the Sanskrit text, it is a great obstacle to the understanding of those passages where the Sanskrit is lacking.

tato duhitṛbhiḥ sārdhaṃ cāpam ādāya kausumam |
ājagāma manoyonis tasya kṣobhayitum manah || 36 ||

de nas bu mo rnam s lhan cig || me tog gi gzu blaṅs nas ni ||
de yi yid ni dkrug³⁵ pa'i phyir || yid kyi skye gnas kun nas 'oṅs || (36)

36. Then, the Mind-born One took his flower bow and came, attended by his daughters, to disturb the mind of the [Bodhisattva].

jighrantī pura<ta>s³⁶ tasya mālatīkusumam navam |
kācin nyamīlayat *kiṃcid³⁷ dṛṣṭim āloṭatārakām || 37 ||

śirśa'i me tog sar pa ni || de yi mdun du *snom³⁸ byed ciṅ ||
'bras bu kun g-yo lta ba ni || la la žig gis cuṅ zad *zum³⁹ || (37)

37. One, smelling a fresh jasmin flower in front of him, slightly closed her eyes with rolling pupils.

sakhīkarṇe 'bhīdhāyānyā kimapi smitapūrvakam |
tatra līlāvatī rāmā kāsāyanti mukhaṃ yayau || 38 ||

grogs mo'i rna bar gzan gyis ni || dgod pa sñon 'gro ci yaṅ smras ||
blo ldan de la lta ba ni || sgeg daṅ bcas par gtad ciṅ gnas || (38)

38. Another coquettishly *darted a look at this wise one*, while saying with a smile something in the ear of a confidante.

sakāmā darśayanty anyā jagādeti jinaṣabham |
rāmāyāḥ ślathakāñcīkaṃ nitamba⁴⁰srastam aṃśukam || 39 ||

gzan dag me tog du ba ni || mig ni no tsha bar byed ciṅ ||

³³. The interested reader may be referred to the complete edition in Hahn 2011.

³⁴. See Hahn 1973, p. 57–59, and the notes on his editions of several legends of HJMtib that appeared in a couple of papers (see Straube forthcoming, “Bibliography of selected works relating to Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā,” for bibliographical information).

³⁵. D *dkrugs*

³⁶. Hahn *ājighrantī puras*

³⁷. *kiṃcid* ex HJMtib; *cuṅ zad*; A *kāñcid*; Hahn *kāṃcil* (sic)

³⁸. D *sgom*; Q *bsgom*

³⁹. DQ *bzuṅ*

⁴⁰. A *nitambaṃ*

gos ni mtshan ma⁴¹ las lhuñ ba || ska rags⁴² lhod pa⁴³ bkag par gyur || (39)

39. *Another whose eyes [have been made up] with collyrium⁴⁴ bashfully held back her dress that with loosened girdle slipped from her hips.*

kva ca yauvanam etad indukāntam
kva ca te tapase mano 'bhilāṣam |
bhaja kāmam ato nivarta(ya)sva
vada kiṃ tapasaḥ phalaṃ tvayāptum || 40 ||

zla ba ltar mdzes lañ tsho⁴⁵ 'di ni gañ du ste ||
dka' thub 'di ni gañ du e ma 'di ni 'gal ||
yul rnams ñams su myoñ nas 'di ltar rigs pa ste ||
yoñs su smin pa khyed kyis 'bras bu thob pa'i phyir || (40)

40. "On the one hand that youth that is lovely as the moon, on the other hand *that* asceticism *that*, alas!, is opposed to it. Having enjoyed the lands (= objects of senses),⁴⁶ it is equally appropriate that you gain the ripe fruit.

hitakāmyatayā bruve bhavantam
kim ataḥ param āptum icchasi tvam |
gr̥hidharmam abādhinaṃ mahāntam
nu vihāya kim anyad asti puṇyam || 41 ||

phan par 'dod pa ñid kyis⁴⁷ khyed la smra ba ste ||
dus min yoñs su ñal du 'jug pa ci phyir lus ||
{de ltar la la 'dud pa'i yan lag can ni smra ba ste ||}⁴⁸
yan lag med pa 'i⁴⁹ so sor gnod pa che⁵⁰ de la ||
de ltar la la 'dod pa'i yan lag smras par gyur || (41)

41. Out of desire for your benefit I say to you: *What [is the use of] exposing the body to exhaustion at the wrong time?* Thus spoke one whose body [has grown] thin due to desire⁵¹ to the mighty enemy of the bodiless⁵² [god of love].

tvad*abhigama⁵³ samutsukāsu dhīman
kim iyam adayitā manoharāsv apīti |

41. Tib. *mtshan ma* is the usual rendering of Skt. *nitamba* in the HJM.

42. Q *rag*

43. D *par*

44. Tib. *me tog du ba* probably goes back to Skt. **puṣpāñjana*; cf. Negi s.v. *du ba* 2.

45. Q *tso*

46. Probably a double entendre is intended here in Skt. **viṣayāḥ* (Tib. *yul rnams*) "estates, lands" and "objects of sense."

47. Q *kyi*

48. This line probably escaped deletion in the course of the revision of the translation. With its 13 syllables it is by two syllables longer than the others, and this may have been the reason to revise it in the last line.

49. Q *ciñ*

50. Q *pa'i tshe*

51. 'dod pa'i yan lag; compare HJM 12.58: *anaṅgatanvī*, Tib. 'dod pa'i lus can. If one reads *'dud as in the third line, one could perhaps translate: "whose body was bent [by the burden of her breasts]."

52. The third line of the Sanskrit may be reconstructed as **atanuprati*bādhinaṃ mahāntam*.

53. Ex HJMtib **mñon 'gror*; A *adhigama*

*mukhalavadantī kāmīnī kāmukām*⁵⁴
vadanakamalāni nakhena khaṇḍayantī || 42 ||

khyed la *mñon 'gror⁵⁵ phrad 'dod *bud med* rnam la ni ||
 blo ldan *khyed kyi rjes su mthun min ci phyir 'di* ||
 'di ltar de la mñon par smras gyur la la žig ||
 padma'i 'dab ma rnam ni sen mos gtubs⁵⁶ byed ciñ || (42)

42. “Whence [comes] your aversion against women who are intent on sexual intercourse with you, wise one?” Thus, one spoke to him while tearing apart lotus leaves⁵⁷ with her fingernail.

yadā ca tāsu bodhisattvaḥ sāvajñam api drṣṭi*viśeṣāni⁵⁸ vikṣipatsv⁵⁹ api nānāceṣṭāni darśayatsu
dhyānastimitākṣa eva tasthau tadā māraḥ pravṛjāhāra | bhīṣayitvainam utthāpayateti |

gañ gi tshe de rnam la byañ chub sems dpas brñas pa dañ bcas pa'i lta ba *sbyin par ma byas pa* de'i
 tshe bdud kyi(s) *bka' byed rnam pa du mar 'gyur ba'i gdon can de rnam la smras pa* | 'jigs su bcug
 nas 'di bsalñ bar gyur cig ces bya ba'o ||

And, when the Bodhisattva gave them *not* even a dismissive glance,⁶⁰ Māra spoke to his demons whose faces were distorted in various ways.⁶¹ “Make him rise by instilling terror [in him]!”

tataḥ siṃhamukhaḥ kaścit phutkāreṇa punaḥ punaḥ |
*bodhisattvasya trāsārthaṃ vahneḥ kaṇān*⁶² vyasarjayat || 43 ||

de nas señ ge'i gdon la ni || hūm byas pas ni yañ yañ du ||
 me stag 'od ni 'phro ba yi || 'bar ba'i gdon las grol bar gyur || (43)

43. Then, with a hiss a lion-faced one again and again emitted sparks from his face that shone forth with flames.

te kṛśānukaṇās tasya kiṃkarasya mukhojjhitāḥ |
nipatantaḥ kṣaṇāj jagmuḥ praphullapuṣpatām muneḥ || 44 ||

de rnam de yi bka' byed gdon las byuñ ||⁶³ lhuñ žiñ skad cig gis *gsuñs*⁶⁴ te ||
 rab rgyas mya nan me tog ñid || *byañ chub sems dpa'i steñ du 'phañs* || (44)

44. [As soon] as these, discharged from the mouth of that demon, fell down they instantly were

⁵⁴. Read *kāmukām*?

⁵⁵. DQ *nan 'gror*; *mñon 'gror probably < Skt. *^oabhigama^o; A *adhigama*

⁵⁶. Q *btubs*

⁵⁷. Tib. *padma'i 'dab ma rnam ni* may be reconstructed as, e.g., **kamaladalāni* instead of the unmetrical and absurd *vadanakamalāni*.

⁵⁸. A *viśiṣāni*; Hahn **viṣāni*

⁵⁹. A *vikṣepatsv*

⁶⁰. The Sanskrit may be restored to *sāvajñam api drṣṭi*ṃ na dadau**.

⁶¹. Skt. perhaps *tadā *māro vividhaviṣānamukhebhyaḥ kiṃkarebhyaḥ* pravṛjāhāra* (Hahn: ... *nānāvikāra-mukheṣu kiṃkareṣu* ...).

⁶². Although the wording is confirmed by the Tibetan, this very sequence is metrically faulty (2nd to 4th syllable form a ra-gaṇa).

⁶³. A hypermetrical line with nine instead of seven syllables.

⁶⁴. Read **oñs* < Skt. *jagmuḥ*?

scattered as full-blown *Aśoka* flowers⁶⁵ upon the *Bodhisattva*.

śatavaktreṇa tīkṣṇāgrā kṣiptā śaktir⁶⁶ yadākṣipat |⁶⁷
vikasatkesaravyūho babhūvotpalaśekharaḥ⁶⁸ || 45 ||

me ldan 'khor lo su zig gis ||⁶⁹
rnam rgyas ze'u 'bru'i tshogs ldan pa || utpala yi mgo phreñ gyur || (45)

45. A fiery discus (with sharp edges) [thrown] by one with a hundred faces turned into a wreath of water lilies with a mass of full-blown filaments.

damṣṭrādhareṇa cānyena vidyudāpiṅgalatviṣā |
kṣiptāny ayogudoṣṇāni puṣpāṇi babhūvuḥ kṣaṇāt || 46 ||

so bsdams gzan dag ñid kyis ni || glog bzin kham pa'i smin ma can ||
kha ba'i rtse mo steñ du 'bebs || kun da'i phuñ po ñid du 'gyur || (46)

46. And a glacial [mountain]peak that another one with fangs [and] eyebrows⁷⁰ that were orange-cloured like lightnings threw down upon [him] turned into a heap of jasmin flowers.

anyenābhudyato bāhuḥ sakhaḍgaḥ piṅgacakṣuṣā |
lohasambhasamucchrāyaḥ kṣaṇān niścalatām yayau || 47 ||

gzan dag ser⁷¹ skya'i mig can ni || ral gri dañ bcas dpuñ pa bteg ||
lcags kyi ka ba'i grib ma 'dra⁷² || skad cig mi g-yo ñid du gyur || (47)

47. An arm [brandishing] a sword [and] towering like an iron pillar that another one with orange-coloured eyes raised became motionless instantly.

atha madanavijetuḥ siddhamantrānilena
jaladhitaṭagavahniḥ kiṃkarāṇaṃ samūhaḥ |
asitagatisakhena preryamāṇaḥ samantād
iva⁷³ virasavikīrṇaḥ kṣīṇarociḥśato 'bhūt || 48 ||

de nas bcom ldan 'das ni⁷⁴ byañ chub śiñ gi 'og tu bzugs byas nas ||

⁶⁵. Skt. originally *praphullāśokapūṣpatām*? Tib. *rab rgyas mya ñan me tog ñid* could go back to a corrupt reading, e.g., *°phullām śoka°* or *°phullaśoka°*. The transmitted sequence *praphullapūṣpatām* is metrically faulty (2nd to 4th syllable form a ra-gaṇa).

⁶⁶. A *vaktreṣ' tīkṣṇāgrā[m] kṣiptā śaktimr*; Hahn *°vaktreṇa tīkṣṇāgrām kṣeptā śaktim*

⁶⁷. Parts of this line may well belong to the original text, notably the reference to the hundred faces of the demon. (Note that each stanza that describes the attack of Māra's soldiers refers to some demonic face.) However, due to the defective Tibetan translation details cannot be ascertained.

⁶⁸. A *{...} <<śe>>śaraḥ*

⁶⁹. One line is missing in D and Q. Since the first transmitted line deviates from the Sanskrit one cannot say if the missing line once stood before or after it.

⁷⁰. Tib. *smin ma can*; the Skt. originally read **°bhruvā* instead of *°tviṣā*.

⁷¹. Q *gser*

⁷². *grib ma 'dra* seems to go back to Skt *°samacchrāyaḥ* instead of A *°samucchrāyaḥ*.

⁷³. Even if *iva* seemingly has an equivalent in Tib. *bzin du*, it can hardly be expected in this position in the original text.

⁷⁴. Q om. *ni*

'phro ba'i mig gi me can *bka'⁷⁵ bzin du ni byed rnams kyi⁷⁶ ni tshogs ||
dkar ba min par 'gro ba'i grogs kyis kun nas rab tu bskul bzin pa ||
nags kyi me ni kun tu chu dan ñe las bzin du zig par gyur || (48)

48. Now, after the Blessed One had taken his seat under the Bodhi tree, the army of demons whose eyes emitted fire turned as it were into a forest fire that [though] being fanned from all sides by the wind⁷⁷ became completely extinct due to [its being] by the water.

tataḥ sainyaabhagnād viṣādavati kusumaketau bhagavāṃś caturthadhyānād vyutthāyedaṃ acintayat |

me tog rgyal mtshan dan ldan pa 'khor gyi skye bo dan bcas pa⁷⁸ soñ ba na | bcom ldan 'das de bsam
gtan bzi pa las bzeñs te 'di bsams par gyur te |

When [the god] who has flowers on his banner together with his attendants had vanished, the Blessed One came out of the fourth [stage of] contemplation and thought:

ātmanaś cet sukhād duḥkhāt puṇyaṃ pāpaṃ prasūyate |
katham na bhadratā nityaṃ *karmā⁷⁹ bhāve ca dehinām || 49 ||
rūpasaubhāgyabhāgyādibhedāḥ katham iheṣyate |
yadi pūrvakṛtaṃ nāsti katham atra śubhāśubhau || 50 ||

gal te skye ba sñon yod na || las rnams kyis ni 'jug pa min ||
las las byuñ ba'i skye ba med || las med na yañ lus can gyi || (49)
gzugs dan skal bzañ skal ba sogs || dbye⁸⁰ ba ci ltar 'dod ni⁸¹ 'dod ||
'on te sñon du las yod na || ma skyes pa la⁸² ga las te || (50)

49–50. “If a previous birth [that has] not been induced by actions [did] exist, [then] no birth that grows out of actions exists. And if actions do not exist, [then] how could it be postulated here [in this world that] living beings are differentiated in outward appearance, beauty, good fortune, etc.? If former actions exist, [then] how⁸³ [can they exist] for [someone] unborn?⁸⁴

karmaṇām hetukaṃ karma cet sārādi na kalpayet |
ahetukaṃ jagat syāc cet kaḥ karmasvakatām vadet || 51 ||

mkhas pas 'di ltar 'gal mthoñ nas || 'khor ba'i thog ma rtog mi byed ||
gal te rgyu med 'gro yin na || su zig las rañ⁸⁵ ñid smra 'gyur || (51)

51. If a wise [man] sees a contradiction in this way, he could not fancy a beginning of saṃsāra.⁸⁶ If

⁷⁵. DQ dka'. Tib. *bka' bzin du ni byed rnams kyi = Skt. kiṃkarāṇām; cf. 35.42+: bka' byed = *kiṃkara-, and 35.44: bka' byed = Skt. kiṃkarasya.

⁷⁶. Q kyis

⁷⁷. asitagatisakhena, literally, “by the companion of he who has a black path (i.e. fire).” In HJM 23.13,7 one finds the similar expression asitagatisārathi.

⁷⁸. Q par

⁷⁹. Ex HJMtib las; A dharmā

⁸⁰. D dge

⁸¹. D 'doñ ni. Read *'di na* < Skt. iha?

⁸². Q las

⁸³. Tib. ga las probably < Skt. kutaḥ.

⁸⁴. Or, if one reads las with Q: “how [can they come] from [someone who was] not born?”

⁸⁵. D dan

⁸⁶. Skt. originally *saṃsārādiṃ instead of cet sārādi.

the world should exist without a cause, who could state that [anyone] is subject to the consequences of one's own actions?

*sukhaheṭum sukhaṃ syāc ced duḥkhaṃ duḥkhasya hetukam |
tapasā duṣkareṇaivaṃ kathaṃ muktir bhaviṣyati || 52 ||*

*rgyu med par ni thar pa yañ || rtag tu grub pa ñid du 'gyur ||
rgyu med par ni lus⁸⁷ kyañ 'di || bskyed pa ñid du 'gyur ba min || (52)*

52. Though liberation will result in being persistently accomplished without a cause, yet this body will not give rise [to something] without a cause.

*īśvaraḥ kāraṇaṃ kecid abudhāḥ saṃpracakṣate |
kathaṃ na samatā loke samavartīśvaro hi saḥ || 53 ||*

*la la dbaṅ phyug rgyu yin pa || mi mkhas pa rnams smra bar byed ||
gal te dbaṅ phyug gzan gyis byas || de 'dir⁸⁸ dbaṅ phyug ñid ga las || (53)*

53. Some foolish [men] consider a [divine] sovereign (īśvara) as cause. If [this] sovereign has been created by another, then, whence [does his] sovereignty here [in this world come]?

*'on te ma sprul ñid skyes pa || de las gzan ni cis mi skye ||
de phyir dbaṅ phyug smra ba 'di || bdag gi slad du don med ñid || (54)*

54. If [he] came into being uncreated,⁸⁹ [then] how [can] another man come into being out of him? Therefore, as to me, the designation “[divine] sovereign” (īśvara) is completely senseless.

*de ltar 'khor ba 'i 'khor lo 'di || yañ dañ yañ du 'khor bzün pa 'i ||
nam yañ mkhas pa rnams kyis ni || thog ma dmigs par 'gyur ba min || (55)*

55. In this way, wise [men] will never fancy a beginning of this ever revolving wheel of saṃsāra.

*nam mkha 'i khams 'di ni rluñ dañ me dañ chu dañ sa rnams kyis⁹⁰ kun nas 'brel pa ni lus zes brjod pa
yin no || de yañ rnam par ses pa 'i khams la brten nas 'gro ba dañ 'oñ ba⁹¹ la sogs pa 'i bya ba rnams
byed do zes bya ba ste | de ltar gnas pa la skyes bu⁹² ñe bar btags par bya zes zer ro⁹³ || de nas bcom
ldan 'das mñon par rdzogs pa 'i byañ chub thob nas du ma rnams kyi⁹⁴ mi ses pa 'i rab rib bsal⁹⁵ bar
mdzad de ||⁹⁶ groñ khyer ser skyar byon nas zas gtsaṅ ma la legs pa 'i lam gsal bar mdzad de ||⁹⁷ de ltar
bcom ldan 'das de 'gro ba ma lus pa rnams kyi sdug bsñal ñe bar zi bar bya ba 'i don du yonṣ su mya
ñan las 'da' bar nus kyañ sñin tu riñ por 'khor ba na kun nas 'khor bar gyur to zes bya ba ste |*

87. D lcags

88. D 'dir ni

89. ma sprul ñid < Skt. anirmita eva ?

90. Q kyi

91. D 'oñ pa (sic); Q 'oñs pa

92. D pa

93. D bya zes zer ro; Q byas zes byas | zes zer ro

94. D kyis

95. D sel

96. DQ de ||. Read de | or do ||?

97. DQ de ||. Read do ||?

The element of [empty] space⁹⁸ that is free from [the elements of] wind, fire, water, and earth is called 'body.' Depending on the element of consciousness⁹⁹ it (i.e. the body) performs actions [like] going, coming, and so forth. This being so, an [independent] person should be taken as conventionally [only].” Now, by having attained perfect enlightenment, the Blessed One has eliminated the many delusions of ignorance. [He] went to Kapilavastu and expounded the right way to [his father] Śuddhodana. In this way¹⁰⁰ the Blessed One roamed saṃsāra for a long time in order to remove suffering from all beings, even though [he] would have been capable of final extinction.

blo chen de ni byañ chub phyir || lag tu gtad ltar sbyin byas te ||
yun riñ śes rab pha rol phyin || dam pa bde bar gnas pa yin || (56)

56. For the sake of salvation, this high-minded one gave away what virtually had been put into his hand,¹⁰¹ and happily dwelt in the noble perfection of wisdom¹⁰² for a long time.

e ma gal te chos ni mun pa 'joms ||
bde gśegs kyis gsuñs 'di ni rnam dpyod nas ||
dri mas khyab pa 'i lta bas mthoñ ba 'i phyir ||
skye bo¹⁰³ 'di ni gžan 'dod rten mi 'gyur || (57)

57. “Oh, since [I] have scrutinised this teaching that was proclaimed by the Sugata [and] dispels delusion, I¹⁰⁴ will rely on no other desirable [means] in order to [be able to] see with [my] eyes that are veiled by impurity!”

de bžin gśegs pa 'i dri med gsuñ yañ yod pa žes bya la ||
rmoñs pa lam nan soñ ba 'i skye bo 'di ni kun nas 'khor ||
ri boñ mtshan pa mñon gśer la ni gañ žig mi zum pa ||
dman pa 'i blo de soñ žiñ ji ltar ltuñ¹⁰⁵ bar 'gyur ba min || (58)

58. Indeed,¹⁰⁶ since the flawless doctrine of the Tathāgata is available, the deluded being¹⁰⁷ of weak intellect that strays on bad paths will not tumble¹⁰⁸ as he walks, [provided he] does not avert [his eyes] from the moon oozing¹⁰⁹ [with nectar] (i.e. the Tathāgata).

98. *nam mkha'i kham* < Skt. *ākāśadhātu*

99. *rnam par śes pa 'i kham* < Skt. *vijñānadhātu*

100. With *de ltar* < Skt. *tad evaṃ* starts the formalised conclusion; for the uniform structure of Haribhaṭṭa's jātakas see Hahn 2011, p. 17 f.

101. i.e. his life as a king that was ensured by birth.

102. *śes rab pha rol phyin || dam pa* < Skt. *āryaprajñāpāramitā*? Or, take *dam pa* (< Skt. *sant*?) together with *blo chen de*: “this high-minded sage”?

103. *Q bos*

104. *skye bo 'di* < Skt. *ayaṃ janaḥ*?

105. *D lhuñ*

106. *žes bya*, probably < Skt. *nāma*.

107. Here *skye bo 'di* stands in a relative clause with *gañ žig*.

108. *ji ltar ltuñ bar 'gyur ba min*; for this strange rendering compare HJM 11.32: *ji ltar ltuñ ste*, Skt. *patanti*, and 18.72+: *ji ltar ltuñ bar byed par 'gyur*, Skt. *nipātayiṣyati*.

109. *mñon gśer* < Skt. *abhiṣyandin* or similar.

Symbols

- * = conjecture
- < = goes back to
- < > = restored characters omitted in the manuscript
- << >> = (parts of) characters added in the manuscript
- { } = superfluous characters to be deleted
- { { } } = (parts of) characters deleted in the manuscript
- [] = (in manuscript readings:) damaged or otherwise not clearly legible characters
(in translations:) additions of the translator

Abbreviations and bibliography

- A = manuscript of the *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā* (see Hahn 2011, p. 46)
- Bc = *The Buddhacarita: Or, Acts of the Buddha*. Edited by E.H. Johnston. Parts I & II. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1935–36 (Panjab University Oriental Publications, 31 & 32).
- D = Tanjur edition of Derge
- HJM = Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*
- Q = Tanjur edition of Peking
- Sasj. = *Sarvārthasiddhajātaka*, the original version of HJM 35
- Śsj. = *Śākyasiṃhajātaka*, reworked and enlarged version of the Sasj., completely edited in Hahn 2011

Hahn, Michael

- 1973. "Die Haribhaṭṭajātakamālā (I). Das Ādarśamukhajātaka," in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 17, p. 49–88.
- 1985a. "Notes on the Śākyasiṃhajātaka," in: *Berliner Indologische Studien* 1, p. 1–10.
- 1985b. "Vorläufige Überlegungen zur Schulzugehörigkeit einiger buddhistischer Dichter," in: *Zur Schulzugehörigkeit von Werken der Hīnayāna-Literatur*. Erster Teil. (Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung, III, 1). Herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Dritte Folge, 149), p. 239–257.
- 1992. *Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta. Two Authors in the Succession of Āryaśūra*. On the Rediscovery of Parts of their Jātakamālās. Second edition. Thoroughly revised and enlarged. Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (Studia Philologica Buddhica. Occasional Paper Series, 1).
- 2005. "Haribhaṭṭa and the Mahābhārata," in: *Journal of the Centre for Buddhist Studies*, Sri Lanka, 3, p. 1–41.
- 2011. *Poetical Vision of the Buddha's Former Lives*. Seventeen Legends from Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā. New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan.

Johnston, E. H., see Bc.

Maue, Dieter

- 1996 & 2015. *Alt türkische Handschriften*. 1 & 19: Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift. Beschrieben und herausgegeben von Dieter Maue. Teil 1. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1996. Teil 2. *ibid.*, 2015. (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, XIII.9 & 27).

Negi, J.S.

- 1993–2005. *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*. Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies.

Straube, Martin

- (forthcoming). *Haribhaṭṭa's Jātakamālā*. Critically edited from the manuscripts with the help of earlier work by Michael Hahn.

Thomas, Frederick William

- 1904. "Notes from the Tanjur. 6. The Jātakamālā of Haribhaṭṭa," in: *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 36, p. 733–743.